

## Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 147888  
ORIGIN AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /011 R

66011  
DRAFTED BY:AF/C:WLSWING  
APPROVED BY:AF/C:LDJUNIOR  
-----016403 100456Z /21  
O 100252Z JUN 78  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 147888

FOL PARIS 17965 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO LONDON BONN BRUSSELS  
KINSHASA SECDEF WASHDC USCINCEUR USNMR SHAPE JCS WASHDC  
JUNE 6, 1978 REPEATED TO YOU QUOTE

S E C R E T PARIS 17965

E.O11652: GDS  
TAGS: MASS, PEPR, EAID, CG, FR, US, BE, UK, GW  
SUBJ: JUNE 5 PARIS MEETING ON ZAIRE

BEGIN SUMMARY: PARIS MEETING ON ZAIRE BEGAN ON SCHEDULE  
LATE MORNING JUNE 5 AND CARRIED ON TO EARLY MORNING  
HOURS JUNE 6. CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS WERE LENGTHIER  
THAN EXPECTED BECAUSE OF (A) DECISION TO HAVE AN ECONOM-  
IC WORKING GROUP PREPARE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR CONSID-  
ERATION BY GOVERNMENTS AND EMBASSIES IN KINSHASA ON  
ZAIRE'S EMERGENCY IMPORT REQUIREMENTS TO BE CONSIDERED  
AT BRUSSELS MEETING, AND A POLITICAL WORKING GROUP PRE-  
PARE SPECIFIC REFORM PROPOSALS TO BE PRESENTED JOINTLY  
TO MOBUTU AFTER APPROVAL BY GOVERNMENTS, (B) FRENCH  
INSISTENCE ON DISCUSSING ISSUES OF BROADER AFRICAN  
SECURITY, QUESTION OF CONTINUING SUPPORT FOR AFRICAN  
FORCE IN ZAIRE, AND THE SPECIAL FUND FOR AFRICA  
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(GISCARD FUND), AND (C) LENGTHY DISCUSSION OF THE TEXT  
OF A DECLARATION TO BE MADE TO THE PRESS. THE US, FRG,  
UK, AND BELGIUM ALL FAVORED LIMITING DISCUSSION  
TO ZAIRE WITH BELGIANS GIVING SPECIAL EMPHASIS TO ECO-  
NOMIC AND AID MATTERS PREPARATORY TO BRUSSELS MEETING.  
THE US, UK, AND FRG DELEGATIONS UNDERLINED NEED TO TAKE  
INTO CONSIDERATION IMPORTANCE OF RELATIONS WITH OTHER  
AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND NEED TO WIDEN POLITICAL SUPPORT  
FOR MEASURES TAKEN TO BOLSTER ZAIRE GOVERNMENT. ALL  
OTHER PARTICIPANTS RESISTED FRENCH PROPOSAL FOR "WORK-

ING GROUP" TO MEET SHORTLY TO DECIDE HOW TO PROVIDE CONTINUING SUPPORT FOR AFRICAN FORCE IN ZAIRE BUT MATTER LEFT UNRESOLVED. LATE IN THE MEETING THE FRENCH SOMEWHAT INCONGRUOUSLY RAISED SPECIAL FUND FOR AFRICA PROPOSING AN "EXPERTS" MEETING IN PARIS JUNE 22-23 TO DISCUSS THE FUND IN THE CONTEXT OF A DISCREET ENTITY IN TERMS SIMILAR TO THAT ORIGINALLY PROPOSED BY PRESIDENT GISCARD (U.S. ATTENDANCE EXPECTED) INVITATIONS ARE TO BE ISSUED THROUGH FRENCH EMBASSIES IN CAPITALS. FRENCH BARGAINED HARD TO HAVE A COMMUNIQUE WHICH WENT BEYOND QUESTION OF HELP FOR ZAIRE AND FOCUSED ON BROADER AFRICAN SECURITY PROBLEMS. THIS WAS OPPOSED BY ALL OTHER DELEGATIONS AND AFTER LONG SESSION FRENCH WERE PARTIALLY SATISFIED BY GENERAL REFERENCE TO BROADER AFRICAN PROBLEMS. END SUMMARY.

1. MORNING SESSION OF CONFERENCE BEGAN WITH REMARKS BY QUAI SEC GEN SOUTOU IN WHICH HE OUTLINED THE BRIEF AGENDA FOR THE MEETING: MORNING DISCUSSION OF ECONOMIC MATTERS IN PREPARATION FOR ZAIRE MEETING; AFTERNOON SESSION ON SECURITY. IN ADDITIONAL REMARKS ON HIS CONCEPT OF THE MEETING HE SAID THAT AS WELL AS ZAIRE, PARTICIPANTS SHOULD ADDRESS QUESTION OF WHAT WOULD  
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HAPPEN IF A SITUATION SIMILAR TO SHABA DEVELOPS ELSEWHERE. IN SO DOING HE BEGAN A FRENCH EFFORT WHICH PERSISTED THROUGHOUT THE MEETING TO BROADEN THE DISCUSSION TO WIDER AFRICAN MATTERS.

2. THE CHIEF BELGIAN DELEGATE(CAHEN) IN HIS OPENING REMARKS EMPHASIZED THE NEED TO CONCENTRATE ON ECONOMIC MATTERS IN PREPARATION FOR THE BRUSSELS MEETING JUNE 13-14 AND THIS SUBJECT, WITH PASSING REFERENCES TO THE LINK BETWEEN SECURITY AND ECONOMIC RECOVERY, WAS A BELGIAN PREOCCUPATION THROUGHOUT. IN HIS OPENING REMARKS UNDER SECRETARY NEWSOM DREW ON PREPARED TALKING POINTS SAYING THAT ZAIRE HOLDS CRITICAL POSITION BECAUSE OF GEOGRAPHY AND RESOURCES AND THAT POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC COLLAPSE COULD LEAD TO RETURN OF THE CHAOS OF THE 60'S WITH INCALCULABLE RESULTS. SITUATION IN ZAIRE BLEAK AND WELL-COORDINATED EFFORT ON RECOVERY LINKED TO REFORM NECESSARY. FOCUS OF MEETING, HE SAID, SHOULD BE ON PREPARATION FOR BRUSSELS MEETING. US PREPARED DISCUSS ALL ASPECTS OF RECOVERY BUT SEAKS AGREEMENT OF ALL PARTICIPANTS THAT GOZ MUST UNDERTAKE BROAD REFORMS. WE SHOULD SEEK CONSENSUS ON WHAT REFORMS NECESSARY AS CONDITION FOR FURTHER ASSISTANCE. COORDINATION AND UNITY IN APPROACH TO GOZ NECESSARY. ADDITIONALLY WE MUST DO ALL WE CAN TO SEE THAT OUR EFFORTS ON SECURITY SIDE RECEIVE MAXIMUM INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT. WE HAVE BEEN APPROACHING

AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS NOT DIRECTLY CONCERNED TO EXPLAIN  
AND EXPLORE WHAT CAN BE DONE IN THIS REGARD.

3. THE UK DELEGATE (HIBBERT) IN HIS INITIAL REMARKS  
STRESSED THE NEED TO KEEP IN MIND THE EFFECT WHICH THE  
MEETING ITSELF AND OUR EFFORTS TO HELP ZAIRE WILL HAVE  
ON RELATIONS WITH OTHER AFRICAN STATES, AND PARTICULARLY  
ON EFFORTS TO RESOLVE SOUTHERN AFRICA PROBLEMS. USE  
OF TERM SUCH AS "PAN AFRICAN FORCE" ARE DANGEROUS AND  
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MISLEADING, HE SAID. IT IS ALSO NOT HELPFUL TO SEE THE  
PRESS DESCRIBE WESTERN EFFORTS AS DESIGNED FOR "HELP  
MOBUTU" WHEN THIS IS NOT OUR INTEREST AT ALL; RATHER  
IT IS IN HELPING ZAIRE. HE ALSO SAID IT NECESSARY  
AVOID GIVING AN EAST/WEST CONFRONTATIONAL APPEARANCE  
TO THE MEETING. UK DELEGATE EXPRESSED AN EARLY CONCERN  
(SHARED BY THE OTHER VISITING DELEGATIONS) FOR WHAT WAS  
TO BE SAID TO THE PRESS ABOUT THE MEETING.

4. THE HEAD FRG DELEGATE (LANDRUT) IN HIS OPENING  
REMARKS EXPRESSED SOME RESERVATION ABOUT THE AGENDA  
BECAUSE OF ITS REFERENCE TO JOINT ACTION AND ENDORSED  
THE UK CONCERN WITH THE PUBLIC RELATIONS ASPECT OF  
THE MEETING.

5. QUAI SEC GEN SOUTOU IN REPLYING TO OPENING REMARKS  
SAID HE AGREED IT NECESSARY KEEP IN MIND QUESTION OF  
RESOLUTION OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEMS, BUT SAID THERE  
WAS ALSO A REVERSE LINKAGE: WHAT WOULD HAPPEN TO OUR  
EFFORTS TO HAVE PRO-WESTERN SOLUTIONS IN RHODESIA  
AND NAMIBIA IF ZAIRE WERE TO COLLAPSE AND BECOME A  
CENTER FOR SUBVERSION AGAINST ITS NEIGHBORS? ON THE  
QUESTION OF A COMMUNIQUE HE REPEATED THE POINT MADE TO  
UNDERSECRETARY NEWSOM THE PREVIOUS DAY THAT THE MEETING  
ITSELF WILL HAVE A KIND OF DETERRENT EFFECT AGAINST  
AGGRESSION IN AFRICA IF THE COMMUNIQUE MAKES CLEAR  
THAT THE ASSEMBLED DELEGATES WERE CONCERNED BY BROADER  
AFRICAN SECURITY QUESTIONS.

6. THE REMAINDER OF THE MORNING SESSION WAS LARGELY  
GIVEN OVER TO DISCUSSION OF ECONOMIC MATTERS. IN ITS  
PRESENTATION THE BELGIAN DELEGATION (TO WHICH SOUTOU  
LOOKED TO TAKE THE LEAD IN PROVIDING ECONOMIC ANALYSES)  
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DIVIDED ZAIRE'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS INTO THE SHORT AND  
THE LONGER TERM. THE ZAIRE ECONOMY WAS IN BAD SHAPE  
BEFORE THE SHABA INVASION AND IS WORSE NOW. THE KEY  
TO LONGER TERM RECOVERY IS GETTING THE SHABA MINES BACK

IN OPERATION AND THIS IS LINKED TO SECURITY. SHORT TERM ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ALSO HAVE A SECURITY CONNECTION BECAUSE PRIVATION OF THE POPULATION COULD WEAKEN LOYALTY TO THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND EXACERBATE REGIONAL CLEAVAGES. IT WAS AGREED THAT LONGER TERM ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WERE BEST LEFT FOR DISCUSSION AT THE BRUSSELS MEETING AND THAT THE PARIS MEETING SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON URGENT SHORT TERM IMPORT REQUIREMENTS. USING BELGIAN FIGURES IT WAS DETERMINED THAT THE MOST URGENT AID NEEDS OVER THE NEXT THREE MONTHS WOULD BE AS FOLLOWS: FUEL - \$22.5 MILLION; MEDICINES \$3-4 MILLION, FOOD \$30 MILLION. THIS TOTAL OF ABOUT \$55 MILLION DID NOT INCLUDE URGENTLY NEEDED SPARE PARTS FOR WHICH IT IMPOSSIBLE GIVE AN IMMEDIATE TOTAL. GENERAL DISCUSSION DEVELOPED A CONSENSUS THAT ASSISTANCE IN ARRANGING FOR URGENTLY NEEDED IMPORTS SHOULD ALSO BE LINKED TO REFORMS AND THAT THESE IMPORTS MUST BE CLOSELY SUPERVISED TO SEE THAT THEY GOT TO THE INTENDED RECIPIENTS. AN ECONOMIC WORKING GROUP WAS FORMED TO CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF THIS SHORT TERM AID IN MORE DETAIL AND TO PREPARE VIEWS ON THE SUBJECT WHICH COULD BE CONSIDERED BY PARTICIPATING GOVERNMENTS AND THEIR EMBASSIES IN ZAIRE IN PREPARATION FOR THE BRUSSELS MEETING. (ECONOMIC SUBJECTS IN MORE DETAIL BY SEPTTEL).

7. THE AFTERNOON SESSION ON SECURITY BEGAN WITH AN ESSENTIALLY HISTORICAL REVIEW BY FRENCH ARMY GENERALS OF THE KATANGESE INTERVENTION IN SHABA AND THE BELGIAN AND FRENCH REACTION TO IT. THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY A REVIEW OF THE PRESENT SECURITY SITUATION. THE THREAT TO THE GOZ WAS DESCRIBED AS BOTH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL. EXTERNALLY THE THREAT COMES FROM ANGOLA--NOT DIRECTLY  
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AS ITS ARMED FORCES TIED UP WITH UNITA AND SOUTH AFRICA--BUT THROUGH THE CUBAN TRAINED AND SOVIET EQUIPPED KATANGESE. KATANGESE HAVE ABOUT 6,000 MEN; THE SAME NUMBER THE GOZ CAN PUT IN SHABA. THE KATANGESE'S GOAL COULD BE EITHER AN INDEPENDENT KATANGA OR PARTICIPATION IN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT; THE LATTER NOW SEEMS THE MORE LIKELY. THE INTERNAL THREAT COMES FROM THE WEAKNESS OF THE MOBUTU REGIME AND STRONG REGIONAL AND TRIBAL FEELINGS AND DISAFFECTION CAUSED BY PRIVATION. THE THREAT POSED BY THE KATANGESE SHOULD NOT BE OVER EMPHASIZED. A WELL DISCIPLINED FORCE SUCH AS THAT TO BE PROVIDED BY MOROCCO AND OTHER AFRICAN STATES WILL BE ABLE TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE SECURITY.

8. THE FRENCH THEN TURNED TO QUESTION OF CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR THE AFRICAN FORCE. IT WILL HAVE ENOUGH EQUIPMENT PROVIDED BY FRANCE TO DO THE JOB WHEN IT ARRIVES AND FOR SOME TIME THEREAFTER, BUT IT WILL HAVE

TO BE PAID AND REPROVISIONED OVER THE LONGER TERM. IF THERE IS NOT ADEQUATE PROVISIONS FOR THIS, THERE COULD DEVELOP DISCONTENT AMONG THE PARTICIPATING FORCES. SOUTOU PROPOSED THAT THE FIVE COUNTRIES REPRESENTED ESTABLISH A WORKING GROUP TO MEET VERY SHORTLY AT A PLACE TO BE CHOSEN TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM OF CONTINUING SUPPORT ON A MORE OR LESS LONGTERM BASIS. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE FIVE COUNTRIES MIGHT DIVIDE UP THE SUPPORT BURDEN BY FUNCTION, ONE COUNTRY UNDERTAKING TO SUPPLY FUEL, ANOTHER PAY, ANOTHER CONSUMABLES, ETC.

9. UNDERSECRETARY NEWSOM SAID THAT HE APPRECIATED THE DETAILED REPORT ON THE AFRICAN FORCE BUT THAT MORE INFORMATION WAS NEEDED. WHAT AGREEMENTS HAVE BEEN  
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REACHED WITH THE SUPPLYING COUNTRIES? WHAT AGREEMENT WITH THE GOZ? WHAT ARE THE ACTUAL REQUIREMENTS? NEWSOM ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IN PUTTING THE FORCE IN PLACE THERE WAS ALSO A RESPONSIBILITY TO SEE THAT IT WAS ADEQUATELY SUPPLIED AND THIS MATTER WILL HAVE TO BE WORKED OUT. AS FAR AS THE US IS CONCERNED, OUR LAWS WOULD NOT PERMIT AID TO THE FORCE AS SUCH BUT REQUIRED THAT IT GO TO INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES. THE FRG AND UK REPS ALSO EXPRESSED RESERVE ABOUT CONTRIBUTING TO SUPPORT OF THE FORCE. THE UK REP SAID THAT THE UK MIGHT BEST CONTRIBUTE POLITICALLY BY GETTING OTHER AFRICAN STATES TO SUPPORT OR TOLERATE THE FORCE IF NOT ACTUALLY CONTRIBUTE TO IT. IN THE EVENT, NO DECISION WAS REACHED AND THE IDEA OF AN EXPERTS MEETING WAS NOT PURSUED. THE FRENCH CONCLUDED THIS PART OF THE MEETING BY SAYING THAT THERE WOULD BE NO "IMMEDIATE DRAMA" AS THE FORCES WOULD ARRIVE WITH EQUIPMENT AND SUPPLIES TO LAST FOR A WHILE BUT THAT THE PROBLEM WOULD HAVE TO BE ADDRESSED QUICKLY. THEY UNDERTOOK TO PROVIDE MORE DETAILED INFORMATION.

10. ZAIRE'S POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC SITUATION WAS TAKEN UP SUBSEQUENTLY. QUAI AFRICAN DIRECTOR GEORGY WAS ASKED BY SOUTOU TO DESCRIBE ZAIRE'S DIPLOMATIC PROBLEMS IN AFRICA. GEORGY REFERRED TO THE OAU SUMMIT AT KHARTOUM JULY 6-7 AND SAID ZAIRE IS SURE TO BE DEBATED. IN VIEW OF THE CURRENT RATHER GENERAL CONCERN ABOUT SECURITY ON THE CONTINENT ZAIRE COULD RECEIVE A MORE SYMPATHETIC HEARING THAN IT DID LAST YEAR--IF IT LAYS THE GROUNDWORK. MOBUTU SHOULD, WITH OUR ENCOURAGEMENT, UNDERTAKE A "CAMPAIGN OF DIALOGUE" TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH ZAMBIA, TANZANIA, NIGERIA, AND PARTICULARLY ANGOLA. THERE HAVE BEEN CONTACTS TOWARDS IMPROVING ANGOLA/ZAIRE RELATIONS, GEORGY SAID, BUT THEY LED TO NOTHING BECAUSE OF DEEP DISTRUST

BETWEEN THE TWO LEADERS. THE ANGOLANS DON'T FORGET  
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ZAIRE'S SUPPORT FOR THE CABINDA REBELS AND ZAIRES  
CONTACTS WITH SAVIMBI ALSO INCREASE DISTRUST. "MOBUTU  
CANNOT AID UNITA AND EXPECT A SOLUTION TO THE KATANGA  
PROBLEM." ANGOLA FOR ITS PART MUST CEASE AID TO THE  
KATANGESE. THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT ZAIRES  
SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO IMPROVE ITS DIPLOMATIC POSITION  
IN AFRICA. ON THE INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION THERE  
WAS AGREEMENT ON THE NEED FOR MAJOR AND URGENT REFORMS.  
A POLITICAL WORKING GROUP WAS ESTABLISHED (US REP DAS  
WALKER) TO DRAW UP A LIST OF REFORMS WHICH (AFTER  
APPROVAL BY GOVERNMENTS) SHOULD BE JOINTLY URGED UPON  
MOBUTU IN CONNECTION WITH OFFERS OF ASSISTANCE.  
(DETAILS OF WORKING GROUP BY SEPTTEL.)

11. AT THE EVENING SESSION QUAI DIRECTOR FOR ECONOMIC  
AFFAIRS, FROMENT-MEURICE, UNEXPECTEDLY AND SOMEWHAT  
INCONGRUOUSLY RAISED THE SPECIAL FUND FOR AFRICA  
(GISCARD FUND) SAYING THAT IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT  
DEVELOPMENTS AND FOLLOWING DISCUSSIONS HELD WITH  
VARIOUS GOVERNMENTS, INCLUDING AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL,  
THE GOF HAD COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT A SPECIAL FUND  
WITH A DISCREET IDENTITY SUCH AS ORIGINALLY PROPOSED  
BY GISCARD, WAS DESIRABLE. HE THEREFORE PROPOSED  
A MEETING OF EXPERTS TO BE HELD IN PARIS JUNE 22-23  
TO DISCUSS HOW SUCH A FUND COULD BE ESTABLISHED AND  
THE CRITERIA FOR ITS OPERATION. THIS PROPOSAL CAUGHT  
MOST OF THE DELEGATIONS BY SURPRISE AND NONE SHOWED  
ENTHUSIASM. THE FRG REP SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD  
ALREADY AGREED TO ATTEND. OTHERS DID NOT COMMENT BUT  
IT WAS AGREED THAT INVITATIONS WOULD BE SENT OUT  
THROUGH FRENCH EMBASSIES IN CAPITALS FOR FORMAL  
RESPONSE.

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12. A RESTRICTED SESSION WAS HELD TO WORK OUT AN  
AGREED PRESS STATEMENT. THE FRENCH PLUGGED HARD  
AND PERSISTENTLY FOR LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD HAVE INDICATED  
THAT THE MEETING CONCERNED ITSELF WITH BROADER AFRICAN  
PROBLEMS AND THE WAYS OF RESPONDING TO THREATS TO THE  
SECURITY OF AFRICAN STATES. THIS LANGUAGE WAS RESISTED  
BY ALL THE OTHER DELEGATIONS AND, AFTER MORE THAN AN  
HOUR, A DECLARATION WAS AGREED UPON WHICH MADE ONLY  
GENERAL MENTION OF BROADER AFRICAN PROBLEMS (TEXT  
SEPTTEL).

13. THE MEETING CONCLUDED EARLY MORNING JUNE 6.

HARTMAN UNQUOTE VANCE

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 26 sep 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** ECONOMIC RECOVERY, MEETINGS, FOREIGN ASSISTANCE  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 10 jun 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978STATE147888  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:**  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D780242-0930  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1978/newtext/t197806115/baaaeywt.tel  
**Line Count:** 329  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 762e4f7e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ORIGIN AF  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 6  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 03 may 2005  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2177036  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** JUNE 5 PARIS MEETING ON ZAIRE  
**TAGS:** MASS, PEPR, EAID, CG, FR, US, BE, UK, GE  
**To:** ROME  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/762e4f7e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014